Carangas—
Chipaya

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[246] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[331] which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
● 132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[346] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

Carangas—
Chipaya

/118 cont./

221 796 132 [152] objective of requesting the demons and saints to send them prosperity along with the rain. The beginning of the year 1931 was marked by a long period of dryness (1) and I witnessed the anguish

1. During the months of January and February I made a certain number of meteorological observations which were unfortunately incomplete because of my frequent moves. For January the average maximum temperature was 19° to 20° /centigrade/ and that of the minimum temperature 6°. In February we had an average maximum temperature of 19° and a minimum temperature of 5°. In January I noted a high of 24° and a low of 1°. For February the high was 23° and the low—1°. February was rainier than January although the end of the latter month was marked by some violent storms and hail.

of the Čipaya; this anxiety manifested itself perhaps in the pomp and seriousness with which they carried out the festivals which I shall describe later.

The winter is a testing time for the Čipaya. They spoke to me in eloquent language of its rigors—dried and yellowed pastures, thin and starving animals, icy winds which pierced to the /119/ [182] bone. This entire season passes without festivals, at least without pagan festivals, and this cessation of religious life is good evidence of the close correlation that exists between the pagan ceremonies of the Čipaya and their problems of subsistence.

Carangas — Chipaya

/156 cont./ The framework of the latter is actually formed by faggots
342 of tola (čoksa, čoxsa) solidly bound into cylinders with straw ropes
335 (kxaru) (Pl. VI, B /see p. 215/). They are thrust in the holes of
[824] which we have just spoken and then tied together (Fig. 1, H /see
883] p. 142/). The number of arches which make up the skeleton of the roof is eight and they are arranged in two groups of four which are superimposed and are fastened at the intersections by solid ligatures. Up to the last moment the framework is held up by props of Cereus wood /157/ /Figure 1 appears here/ /158/ in order to allow the roofers to walk on the arches without making them fall in.

342 On this frame is spread a sort of linoleum (pirina) made of straw (p^{h}it) stuck together with mud, the whole forming flexible plates which take the form of the frame. On top of this thin covering, the function of which is to make the roof impermeable, the straw is laid. The roofers receive large bunches of it which are hoisted up with rope. They spread it on the edge of the roof, where they trample it down by foot. These sheaves are then sewn on the faggots by means of a long wooden needle (čapa) threaded with straw cord (Fig. 1, A) and wielded by two workers, one inside the hut and the other outside. The needle, after having passed through the linoleum, goes around each of the faggots in turn and returns to encompass a new sheaf of straw. The remaining straw is arranged in successive layers, imbricated up to the summit. The adherence of this thatch to the roof and its resistance to the terrific gusts of wind on the altiplano is assured by means of a straw net which is made on the roof itself. The quadrangular or triangular mesh of this net are not exactly knotted but simply made by the intercrossing of a long straw cord which is tightened by traction carried out from below to above in pace with the formation of the net.

The roof is not considered finished until a straw cross surmounts it, which, according to native belief, protects the house from the effects of lightening.

252 Furnishings. The interior disposition of Čipaya huts is most
352 summary. The only furniture of any importance is the earthen stove

[Text Continues on p. 143]

/162 cont./

241 of which I was still able to obtain (Fig. 2, K /see p. 150/). Today
[412] they use long-handled hoes (astuna, takisa) of European make.
[177] The seeds are sown from meter to meter in holes they make with this instrument. The natives do not seem to show any attention to sowing in a straight line, and the holes when seen from a certain height give the appearance of wavy and capricious lines.

These fields are not irrigated but could obviously be without much work, given the uniformity of the plain. Some Čipaya with
[178] an enterprising spirit have recognized the possibility of this improvement, and this question is at present the object of discussion among the groups of land cultivators. The quinua which grows in these fields is stunted and bears few seeds. The harvest is frequent-
● [132] ly of no account as a consequence of excessive droughts or frosts. I noticed some faint attempts at cultivating barley (1) in the shelter of several broken down enclosures.

222

1. The Čipaya while traveling dig up a tubercule (siča) which they say is the root of the tola, and they appear to be very fond of it. As far as I am concerned I found it tasted sour and insipid. Another wild tubercule (sawkx-pera) was pointed out to me as being edible also.

000 of several broken down enclosures.

234 Trade. The Čipaya make cheeses, which constitute their
433 chief industry and the source of their wealth, out of sheep's milk.
439 They trade it for everything they need to live and which nature denies them: maize, quinua, barley, broad beans, potatoes, dried
439 fish, coca, and alcohol. These products are brought to them by Aymara traders or mestizos, who generally come from the region
[433] of the Salinas, from Garcimendoza. The Čipaya economy hence rests in large part on trade. They themselves sometimes go to the

/177 cont./

*539 192 193 Spanish word uno /"one"/. In 9 the Spanish word voluntad (will) is deformed into pulúntá, as v does not exist in Uru, but it keeps the Spanish tonic accent.

IV. Nocturnal Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 161 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

*539 206 1. We are accustomed to fish at night. 2. We are accustomed to fish in darkness. 3. But how can one see at night? 4. One can easily see the fish moving about. 5. We cover ourselves with the sail to keep from being cold.

Remarks

[130] The Uru often go fishing at night in their fishing enclosures, and in order not to suffer from the intense cold and the icy wind, they shelter themselves under the totora sails of their craft.

*539 192 193 1. The form maká-xe, "by night," "in the darkness," is analogous to tom-xe, "today," "on this day," and to num-xe, "by day." 3. kún, an interrogative particle, "how," is accompanied by the pure root of the verb. 4. kíre, "fish," is often pronounced kíri. 5. sráp'-pa indicates finality and may be added either to a verb root or to a substantive form or adjective, as is the case here.

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Iru Itu

There were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
T-u Itu

Two men work simultaneously

tightening the braids with little wooden hooks, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a third man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the rancous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[6] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *bolas*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only *viscachas* (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'amaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semisubterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[6] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the little village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. *Balsas* are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Storms on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage-*balsa* in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of boating laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Jesus de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily entail the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the *altiplano*. Bandelier noted cannibalism near Sajama in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was so employed during native uprisings as late as 1923 in this Jesus de Machaca region.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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in summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

Linguistic Identification. The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Geronimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervas, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervas believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervas' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymára). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.[7]

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervas Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervas, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

> It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been classed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *lenguas generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geográficas*

[7] Daniel G. Brinton, *Note on the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 28, 1890) pp. 242–248; Adelung, Vater, et al., *Mithradates*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806–17), pp. 2, 548–550; Clements R. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Yncas* (Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 41: 281–338, 1871), p. 305; J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Ketschua Sprache* (Leipzig, 1884), s. 76.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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slant. The skin is definitely darker than that of the Aymára. Walle (page 155) thought that the foreheads of the Uru were narrower than those of their neighbors, but much of this I believe may be due to the sometimes striking width at the outer corners of the jaw (see for example, Posnansky's Figure 92). The lips are moderately full; the Uru share in the ancient Amerindian habit of pointing with the lips. The teeth of the fish-eating Uru are whiter and appear less carious than those of the *čuñu*-consuming Aymára (*čuñu* is a preparation of potatoes, with the nitrogenous and liquid matter fermented and frozen and dried out of it). Perhaps because they are fishermen, the Uru are much cleaner than the Aymára and have no such repugnant body odor as they.

The women wash their hair in stale urine, which apparently contains a grease-cutting principle and use an Aymára-type brush-comb in caring for it. The hair, which is of course straight and jet-black, is parted in the middle and worn in two braids back of the shoulder, the ends tied to each other with vicuña- or llama-wool cords so that they do not fall forward when the woman is working or bending over. The men cut the hair very short in quasi-European fashion or cut it in an all-around bang like many of the natives of the Bolivian tropics.

The Uru are shorter even than the short-statured Aymára, so that a European of only moderate height appears to tower over them: the average cannot be much more than five feet for adult males. They do not have the grotesquely disproportionate long torso and short legs of the Aymára; indeed, in spite of their short stature, their legs appear to be well-proportioned and even relatively longer than those of *altiplano* inhabitants in general. The most striking difference from the neighboring Aymára is in the nose: the Uru nose is relatively small, and depressed at the root, while the Aymára nose is unqualifiedly enormous in all dimensions and continues the line of the forehead in many cases.

The bodies of the Uru are sturdy and graceful, but not so heavily and conspicuously muscled as the Aymára; this is undoubtedly due in part to their different modes of life, on the water and on the land, respectively. The younger women are well-formed and attractive by any standards. Even in so small a group I noticed one little girl spin her distaff left-handedly. The Uru appear to be healthier than the Aymára, possibly because of a more varied diet, but they have a skin disease which they call *tututia*. No adequate osteometry or craniometry has ever been done for this group.

Clothing. Anciently, it is said,[17] the Uru "vivian desnudos del todo," but this unsupported statement is flatly incredible to anyone who knows the

[17] In Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos*, p. LXI.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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bitterly cold winters of the Bolivian plateau (second only in height to the Himalayan plateau of Tibet), and the cold nights even in summer at this altitude. The essential male costume, as we know the Uru, was the same as the pre-Columbian Chipaya *ira* (Aymará *unku*), a sleeveless, sack-like garment made of an untailored textile, sewed partway up the sides with openings for the arms, and partway across the top with an opening for the neck. This was woven of llama-yarn on simple bar looms held by stakes on the ground. (The Chipaya, like the Aymára, have foot-looms of a crude sort borrowed from the colonial Spaniards; so too have the Uru.)

This garment was at one time the common garment for *altiplano* natives, but only the Chipaya and Uru have retained it. Although nowadays Uru men wear trousers (*makči*) of Aymára cut, slit at the heel (after the fashion of colonial Spanish trousers) and made of native homespun, children still wear this "camiseta" (Aymará *almiła*), and Posnansky made a collection of these ancient garments for the Tiahuanacu Museum in La Paz. Nowadays a homemade shirt, *kulči*, and sometimes a crude vest, with leather sandals (but usually the feet are bare), a knit llama-wool *gorro* (Uru *škara*) with ear-flaps in Aymára fashion, and sometimes a crude Aymára-made felted hat (Uru *iktara*), complete the male costume. The belt called *časi* is not always worn. Thick wool ponchos (*kutsi*) are also worn on occasion.

Uru women wear black llama-wool skirts (*akso*), girdled at the waist, and untailored bodices pinned at each shoulder at the top with a large copper or bronze Aymára pin. This tunic is called *urku*, but clothing in general is called *skiti*, "skin, hide"—which suggests an earlier, non-textile material. The feet are usually bare, but dark-brown or black wimples or shawls of llama-wool are worn when travelling, over the head in the Aymára fashion, but without the added hat on top. The dark color of the women's clothes in this whole southwestern region of Lake Titicaca is said to be because they are "mourning for the last Inca,"—which would not necessarily be so for the Uru! The ancient head-dress of many small braids, still rarely encountered, is called *čočo*. This fashion is pre-Columbian, to judge from mummies in the La Paz museum.

Houses. Although some of the habitations in Ancoaqui are of the Aymára rectangular style, the majority are round in ground-plan, built in horizontal courses of rectangular turfs (much as the ancient tombs or *chulpas* of Incasica times), the outside wall often being secondarily plastered with adobe-like mud. The door always faces east, and is closed at night by a thick bunch-element twined *totora*-reed door. On the rectangular houses the roof is made of single-element *totora*-reed mats, twined at the ends, and laid so that the reeds are parallel vertically, along the slope of the roof